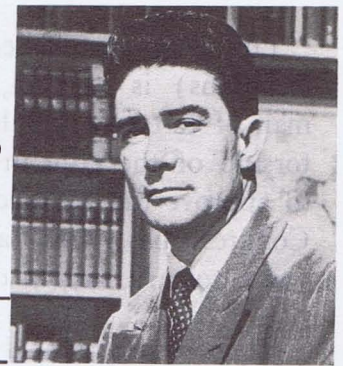


THE Dan Smoot Report

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DAN SMOOT

SECOND ROLL CALLS, 1963

"I have said I do not dread industrial corporations as instruments of power to destroy this country, because there are a thousand agencies which can regulate, restrain and control them; but there is a corporation we may all well dread. That corporation is the federal government.

"From the aggressions of this corporation, there can be no safety if it is allowed to go beyond the well-defined limits of its power.

"I dread nothing so much as the exercise of ungranted and doubtful powers by this government. It is, in my opinion, the danger of dangers to the future of this country.

"Let us be sure to keep it always within its limits. If this great, ambitious, ever-growing corporation become oppressive, who shall check it? If it become wayward, who shall control it? If it become unjust, who shall trust it?

"As sentinels on the country's watchtower, Senators, I beseech you, watch and guard with sleepless dread that corporation which can make all property and rights, all states and people, and all liberty and hope its playthings in an hour, and its victims forever." — U.S. Senator Benjamin Harvey Hill of Georgia, March 27, 1878

Herein are tabulated the second group of roll call votes for the First Session of the 88th Congress: 7 roll calls in the Senate; 5, in the House. In the May 27, 1963, *Report* ("First Roll Calls, 1963"), we tabulated 6 roll calls in the Senate; 7, in the House.

Computing percentages on all roll calls tabulated to date (13 in the Senate; 12 in the House), we find that, in this First Session of the 88th Congress, no United States Senator has a 100% constitutionalist voting score. Only 1 (Barry Goldwater) has 90% or better. Only 15 Senators have a constitutionalist voting score of 70% or better (of these 15, 10 are Republicans). In the House, 29 Representatives have voted 100% constitutionalist (27 of them Republican); 162 have 70% or better (of these 162, 141 are Republicans).

In a column published July 7, 1963, Walter Lippmann complained that the 88th Congress, after six months, had not enacted any major legislation; that the Congress seems "sick," paralyzed, unable to act; that if the stalemate continues, something must be done about it.

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Lippmann (a member of the Council on Foreign Relations) is an idol, high priest, and spokesman of leftwing intellectuals who want a dictatorship of the elite in this country.¹¹ In failing to approve the Kennedy legislative program, the Congress has, thus far, slowed down our advance toward such a dictatorship.

Thus, constitutional conservatives can rejoice over the condition that causes Walter Lippmann concern. The present Congress (though the Senate voting record is worse than when we reported the "First Roll Calls, 1963" — May 27) is slowing down the socialist revolution. It is still the best Congress we have had for a long time.

Feed Grains, 1963

On April 25, 1963, the House passed HR 4997, extending Kennedy's Feed Grains program for 2 more years. The Senate passed the Bill on May 16, 1963, by a stand of 59 to 41. President Kennedy signed it as PL 88-26, on May 20. This program, giving government control of the feed grains industry, is a backdoor approach to government control of the livestock industry. The House vote on the Feed Grains program was tabulated in the May 27, 1963, issue of this *Report*, "First Roll Calls, 1963." The Senate vote is recorded below in Column 7, under *Senate* — a C indicating a conservative stand *against*.

Silver Legislation

On April 10, 1963, the House passed HR 5389. The Senate passed it on May 23, by a stand of 84 to 13; and the President signed it into law as PL 88-36 on June 4.

This Act (eliminating silver backing for 1 and 2-dollar bills, replacing them with Federal Reserve notes which are supposed to have a fractional gold backing) will cause a heavier drain on our monetary gold reserve, already more than totally mortgaged to foreigners.

The House vote on this "Silver Bill" was tabulated in the May 27, 1963, issue of this *Report*. The Senate vote is shown below in Column 8, under *Senate* — C indicating a conservative vote *against*.

Mental Facilities Act

On May 27, 1963, the Senate, by a stand of 97 to 1, passed S 1576 (Kennedy's Mental Facilities Act of 1963) authorizing \$848.5 million for a 10-year program of grants to private, state, and public institutions for:

- (1) construction of centers connected with universities and hospitals for research into the causes of mental retardation, and treatment of such cases;
- (2) construction of community centers for care and treatment of mental patients;
- (3) part of the staffing costs of community mental health centers;
- and (4) training of teachers of mentally retarded, mentally ill, and mentally handicapped children.

The grants would be on a "matching" basis, with the federal government paying 75% in most instances.

The lone dissenter was Republican Senator Carl T. Curtis of Nebraska. Senators John G. Tower (Republican, Texas) and Harry Flood Byrd (Democrat, Virginia), did not take a public stand on the bill.

The Senate stand is tabulated below in Column 9 under *Senate* — C indicating a conservative vote *against*. The Bill is still in Committee in the House.

The Tenth Amendment prohibits the Federal government from exercising powers not delegated to it by the Constitution. The Constitution delegates no power to the federal government to finance mental facilities for private, state, or public institutions. Hence, the Bill (if ever approved by the House and signed into law) will violate the Constitution.

National Debt Increase

On May 15, 1963, the House, by a stand of 217 to 208, passed HR 6009, authorizing the President to raise the national debt limit, "temporarily," to 309 billion dollars. The Senate passed the Bill on May 28, by a stand of 71 to 28. President Kennedy signed it on May 29 as PL 88-30. The Senate roll call on this measure is tabulated below in Column 10, under *Senate*; the House roll call, in Column 9, under *House*. C indicates a conservative stand *against* raising the debt limit.

There is growing resistance to this kind of fiscal irresponsibility, and growing resentment of Kennedy administration pressure techniques. The close vote in the House on May 15 indicates that the House may refuse another "temporary" raising of the debt limit this year.

Disarmament Agency Funds

On June 17, 1963, the Senate, by a stand of 79 to 17, passed S 777, authorizing a \$20 million appropriation for the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. This is a 100 per cent increase in the Agency's funds.

Senator Frank J. Lausche (Democrat, Ohio), forced an amendment to the Bill to assure that legislation requiring only a majority vote of the Congress could not bind the United States to a disarmament agreement, and further, that any disarmament agreement must be submitted to the Senate in accordance with the Constitution.

Even Democrat Senator J. William Fulbright presented an amendment (adopted) which prevents the Disarmament Agency from propagandizing for legislation. Fulbright hinted that this was the result of a "highly organized campaign" urging his Foreign Relations Committee to approve S 777 without amendments. Fulbright added that "no other legislation or treaty has provoked quite such activity."

The Senate stand is recorded below in Column

11 under *Senate* — C indicating a conservative stand *against*. The Bill is pending in the House.

Export-Import Bank

On May 1, 1963, the House passed HR 3872 by voice vote. On June 24, the Senate passed a different version of the Bill by a stand of 87 to 1 — Senator Strom Thurmond (Democrat, South Carolina), the lone dissenter. The Senate vote is recorded below in Column 12 under *Senate*.

If House and Senate cannot eliminate differences between their two versions, the Bill cannot become law; and the Export-Import Bank (which officially expired June 30, 1963) will go out of existence. This would close at least one gaping hole through which our tax money pours for unconstitutional purposes.

Both Senate and House versions of HR 3872 would extend the Export-Import Bank for another five years. The House version, however, would end "backdoor" financing of the Bank. Heretofore (for 28 years), the Bank has been authorized to borrow up to 6 billion dollars from the United States Treasury, without any Act of Appropriation by Congress, although the Constitution (Article I, Section 9, Clause 7) provides that "no money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law." The Senate version of HR 3872 would extend the authorization for unconstitutional "backdoor" financing of the Export-Import Bank, and raise the limit to 8 billion dollars.

On July 9, 1963, the House (by standing vote) unanimously adopted a Resolution instructing House Conferees to insist on the House version of HR 3872. Hence, outcome of the Bill is uncertain.

Area Redevelopment

On July 12, 1963, the House, by a stand of 214 to 209, defeated HR 4996, a Bill to authorize 455.5 million dollars for extension and expansion of the Area Redevelopment Administration — an

unconstitutional program (of federal aid to states and communities) initiated by Kennedy in 1961. On June 26, the Senate, by a stand of 69 to 30, approved S 1163, which is substantially the same as HR 4996. The House has not yet acted on the Senate Bill, and the outcome of Area Redevelopment legislation is uncertain. The Senate vote is recorded below in Column 13, under *Senate*; the House vote, in Column 12, under *House*. C indicates a conservative vote *against*.

Supplemental Appropriations

On May 14, 1963, the House, by a stand of 254 to 143, passed HR 5517, appropriating \$1,467,430,491.00 to pay, for various federal agencies, expenditures during fiscal 1963 in excess of what was budgeted and appropriated for those agencies. The Senate passed HR 5517 by voice vote on May 15, and the President signed it as Public Law 88-25 on May 17. The House vote is tabulated below in Column 8, under *House* — C indicating a conservative vote *against*.

When federal agencies can spend more than authorized and then get supplemental appropriations to meet their illegal deficits, "budget-cutting" and "congressional control of spending" become farcical.

The need for some of the expenditures involved can be illustrated by a Terrell, Texas, story. The Terrell school system wanted federal money for a new auditorium. U. S. Representative Ray Roberts (Democrat) talked to U. S. Labor Department officials, who conducted an employment survey and declared Terrell a "depressed area," entitled to Accelerated Public Works funds. The Accelerated Public Works program is among those requiring supplemental appropriations because more was spent than authorized in 1963. Terrell is enjoying booming prosperity. Its citizens were outraged at having it declared a "depressed area." Meanwhile, school officials had decided they did not want federal money for an auditorium. But once the wheels of bureaucracy start moving, they cannot be stopped. Apparently, the Labor Department cannot unclassify Terrell

as a depressed area, unless Terrell takes Accelerated Public Works funds.

Powell's ILO Trip

Adam Clayton Powell is a U. S. Representative from New York (Democrat) and also pastor of the largest negro church in the world (Baptist). Powell is notorious for his associations with more than 100 communist and communist front activities, and for his tours of foreign nightclubs, at taxpayers' expense, with his "secretaries."

On May 14, 1963, the House refused to appropriate money to send Powell (and others) to a conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva. The State Department thereupon announced that it would use *its* tax money to send Powell to Geneva. Not to be outdone, the House, on May 29 (by a stand of 277 to 52) authorized money for Powell's trip. This House vote is tabulated below in Column 10, under *House* — C indicating a conservative vote *against*.

Reorganization Plans

On June 4, 1963, the House, by a stand of 233 to 182, amended the Reorganization Act of 1949, to prohibit the President from creating new executive departments by merely "reorganizing" the executive establishment. By this means Eisenhower created the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1953; by this same means Kennedy has been trying to create a new Department of Urban Affairs.

The House vote is tabulated below in Column 11, under *House* — C indicating a conservative stand *for* the adopted amendment to the Reorganization Act. This measure is pending in the Senate, its outcome uncertain.

FOOTNOTE

- (1) *The Elite and the Electorate—Is Government by the People Possible?* by U. S. Senators Joseph S. Clark (Democrat, Pennsylvania) and J. William Fulbright (Democrat, Arkansas); Pierre Mendes-France, Robert C. Weaver, and others, *The Fund for the Republic, Inc.*, 1963. For a discussion of this publication, the American communist party's May, 1963, policy statement, and other materials on this subject, see this *Report*, "The Edifice of Liberty," July 22, 1963.

ROLL CALL VOTES

A "C" indicates a conservative stand. An "L" indicates a liberal stand. An "O" indicates that the legislator did not take a public stand.

SENATE

Column #7 -- Feed Grains Act, HR 4997; #8 -- Repeal of 1934 Silver Purchase Act and Silver-backed Dollars, HR 5389; #9 -- Mental Facilities Act, S 1576; #10 -- National Debt Increase, HR 6009; #11 -- Disarmament Agency Funds, S 777; #12 -- Export-Import Bank extension and funds, HR 3872; #13 -- Area Redevelopment Act, S 1163

	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALABAMA								MONTANA							
Hill, Lister (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Mansfield, Michael J. (D)	L	C	L	L	L	L	L
Sparkman, John J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Metcalf, Lee (D)	L	C	L	L	L	L	L
ALASKA								NEBRASKA							
Bartlett, E. L. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Curtis, Carl T. (R)	C	L	C	C	C	L	C
Gruening, Ernest (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Hruska, Roman L. (R)	C	L	L	C	C	L	C
ARIZONA								NEVADA							
Goldwater, Barry (R)	C	O	L	C	C	O	C	Bible, Alan (D)	L	C	L	L	L	O	L
Hayden, Carl (D)	L	C	L	L	L	O	L	Cannon, Howard W. (D)	L	C	L	L	L	O	L
ARKANSAS								NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Fulbright, J. William (D)	L	L	L	L	L	O	L	Cotton, Norris (R)	C	L	L	C	L	L	C
McClellan, John L. (D)	L	L	L	C	L	O	C	McIntyre, Thomas J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
CALIFORNIA								NEW JERSEY							
Engle, Clair (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Case, Clifford P. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
Kuchel, Thomas H. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	C	Williams, Harrison A., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
COLORADO								NEW MEXICO							
Allott, Gordon (R)	C	C	L	C	C	L	C	Anderson, Clinton P. (D)	C	L	L	L	L	O	O
Dominick, Peter H. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	L	C	Mechem, Edwin L. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	L	C
CONNECTICUT								NEW YORK							
Dodd, Thomas J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Javits, Jacob K. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
Ribicoff, Abraham A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Keating, Kenneth B. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
DELAWARE								NORTH CAROLINA							
Boggs, J. Caleb (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	C	Ervin, Sam J., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	C	O	L	L
Williams, John J. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	C	Jordan, B. Everett (D)	L	L	L	C	O	L	L
FLORIDA								NORTH DAKOTA							
Holland, Spes sard L. (D)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	Burdick, Quentin N. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Smathers, George A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Young, Milton R. (R)	L	L	L	C	C	L	L
GEORGIA								OHIO							
Russell, Richard B. (D)	L	L	L	C	C	L	C	Lausche, Frank J. (D)	C	O	L	C	L	L	C
Talmadge, Herman E. (D)	L	L	L	C	C	L	L	Young, Stephen M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
HAWAII								OKLAHOMA							
Fong, Hiram L. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	Edmondson, J. Howard (D)	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
Inouye, Daniel K. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Monroney, A. S. (Mike) (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
IDAHO								OREGON							
Church, Frank (D)	L	C	L	L	L	O	L	Morse, Wayne (D)	L	L	L	L	L	O	L
Jordan, Len B. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	L	C	Neuberger, Maurine B. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
ILLINOIS								PENNSYLVANIA							
Dirksen, Everett M. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	C	Clark, Joseph S., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Douglas, Paul H. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Scott, Hugh (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
INDIANA								RHODE ISLAND							
Bayh, Birch (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Pastore, John O. (D)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
Hartke, R. Vance (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Pell, Claiborne (D)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
IOWA								SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hickenlooper, Bourke B. (R)	C	L	L	C	L	L	C	Johnston, Olin D. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Miller, Jack (R)	C	L	L	C	L	L	C	Thurmond, Strom (D)	C	L	L	C	C	C	C
KANSAS								SOUTH DAKOTA							
Carlson, Frank (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	C	McGovern, George (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Pearson, James B. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	C	Mundt, Karl E. (R)	L	L	L	C	C	L	C
KENTUCKY								TENNESSEE							
Cooper, John Sherman (R)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Gore, Albert (D)	L	L	L	L	L	O	L
Morton, Thruston B. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	Kefauver, Estes (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
LOUISIANA								TEXAS							
Ellender, Allen J. (D)	L	L	L	O	C	L	C	Tower, John (R)	C	L	O	C	C	L	C
Long, Russell B. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Yarborough, Ralph W. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
MAINE								UTAH							
Muskie, Edmund S. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Bennett, Wallace F. (R)	C	L	L	C	C	L	C
Smith, Margaret Chase (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	Moss, Frank E. (D)	L	C	L	L	L	L	L
MARYLAND								VERMONT							
Beall, J. Glenn (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	Aiken, George D. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
Brewster, Daniel B. (D)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	Prouty, Winston L. (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
MASSACHUSETTS								VIRGINIA							
Kennedy, Edward M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Byrd, Harry Flood (D)	C	L	O	C	C	O	C
Saltonstall, Leverett (R)	C	L	L	L	L	L	C	Robertson, A. Willis (D)	C	L	L	C	O	L	C
MICHIGAN								WASHINGTON							
Hart, Philip A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	O	L	Jackson, Henry M. (D)	L	C	L	L	L	L	L
McNamara, Pat (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Magnuson, Warren G. (D)	L	O	L	L	L	L	L
MINNESOTA								WEST VIRGINIA							
Humphrey, Hubert H. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Byrd, Robert C. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
McCarthy, Eugene J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Randolph, Jennings (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
MISSISSIPPI								WISCONSIN							
Eastland, James O. (D)	C	L	L	C	O	L	C	Nelson, Gaylord A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Stennis, John (D)	C	L	L	C	C	L	C	Proxmire, William (D)	L	L	L	C	L	L	L
MISSOURI								WYOMING							
Long, Edward V. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	McGee, Gale W. (D)	L	C	L	L	L	L	L
Symington, Stuart (D)	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Simpson, Milward L. (R)	C	L	L	C	C	L	C

HOUSE

Column #8 -- Supplemental Appropriations for 1963, HR 5517; #9 -- National Debt Increase, HR 6009; #10 -- I.L.O. trip funds for Adam Clayton Powell, H Res 368; #11 -- Reorganization Plans, executive department ban, HR 3496; #12 -- Area Redevelopment Act, HR 4996

	8	9	10	11	12		8	9	10	11	12
<u>ALABAMA</u>						<u>FLORIDA (cont'd)</u>					
Andrews, George W. (D)	L	C	O	C	C	Gibbons, Sam M. (D)	L	L	L	L	C
Elliott, Carl (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Gurney, Edward J. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Grant, George M. (D)	L	O	C	C	C	Haley, James A. (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Huddleston, George, Jr. (D)	L	C	C	C	C	Herlong, A. Sydney, Jr. (D)	C	L	L	C	C
Jones, Robert E. (D)	L	L	L	O	L	Matthews, D. R. (D)	L	L	L	C	C
Rains, Albert (D)	O	L	O	O	L	Pepper, Claude (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Roberts, Kenneth A. (D)	L	L	O	O	L	Rogers, Paul G. (D)	L	C	C	C	L
Selden, Armistead I., Jr. (D)	L	L	C	C	C	Sikes, Robert L. F. (D)	L	L	L	C	L
<u>ALASKA</u>						<u>GEORGIA</u>					
Rivers, Ralph J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Davis, John W. (D)	L	L	O	C	C
<u>ARIZONA</u>						Flynt, John J., Jr. (D)	O	L	O	C	C
Rhodes, John J. (R)	C	C	O	C	C	Forrester, E. L. (D)	O	O	O	O	O
Senner, George F., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Hagan, G. Elliott (D)	L	L	C	C	L
Udall, Morris K. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Landrum, Phil M. (D)	L	L	O	C	L
<u>ARKANSAS</u>						Pilcher, J. L. (D)	O	L	O	C	C
Gathings, E. C. (D)	L	C	C	C	C	Stephens, Robert G., Jr. (D)	L	C	O	C	L
Harris, Oren (D)	L	L	L	C	L	Tuten, J. Russell (D)	L	L	L	C	C
Mills, Wilbur D. (D)	L	L	L	C	L	Vinson, Carl (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Trimble, James W. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Weltner, Charles L. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>						<u>HAWAII</u>					
Baldwin, John F., Jr. (R)	L	C	L	C	C	Gill, Thomas P. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Bell, Alphonzo E., Jr. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Matsunaga, Spark M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Brown, George E., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	<u>IDAHO</u>					
Burkhalter, Everett G. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Harding, Ralph R. (D)	O	O	L	L	L
Cameron, Ronald B. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	White, Compton I., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	C	L
Clausen, Don H. (R)	L	C	L	O	C	<u>ILLINOIS</u>					
Cohelan, Jeffery (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Anderson, John B. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Corman, James C. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Arends, Leslie C. (R)	O	C	L	C	C
Edwards, W. Donlon (D)	O	L	L	L	L	Collier, Harold R. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Gubser, Charles S. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Dawson, William L. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Hagen, Harlan (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Derwinski, Edward J. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Hanna, Richard T. (D)	O	L	O	L	L	Findley, Paul (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Hawkins, Augustus F. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Finnegan, Edward R. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Holifield, Chet (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Gray, Kenneth J. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Hosmer, Craig (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Hoffman, Elmer J. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Johnson, Harold T. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Kluczynski, John C. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
King, Cecil R. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Libonati, Roland V. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Leggett, Robert L. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	McClory, Robert (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Lipscomb, Glenard P. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	McLoskey, Robert T. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Mailliard, William S. (R)	L	C	L	C	C	Michel, Robert H. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Martin, Minor C. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Murphy, William T. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
McFall, John J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	O'Brien, Thomas J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Miller, George P. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	O'Hara, Barratt (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Moss, John E. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Price, Melvin (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Roosevelt, James (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Pucinski, Roman C. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Roybal, Edward R. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Reid, Charlotte (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Shelley, John F. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Rostenkowski, Daniel (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Sheppard, Harry R. (D)	O	L	L	L	L	Rumsfeld, Donald (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Sisk, B. F. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Shipley, George E. (D)	O	L	O	L	L
Smith, H. Allen (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Springer, William L. (R)	O	C	L	C	C
Talcott, Burt L. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	<u>INDIANA</u>					
Teague, Charles M. (R)	L	C	L	C	C	Adair, E. Ross (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Utt, James B. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Brademas, John (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Van Deerlin, Lionel (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Bray, William G. (R)	L	C	L	C	L
Wilson, Bob (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Bruce, Donald C. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Wilson, Charles H. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Denton, Winfield K. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Younger, J. Arthur (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Halleck, Charles A. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
<u>COLORADO</u>						Harvey, Ralph (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Aspinall, Wayne N. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Madden, Ray J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Brotzman, Donald G. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Roudebush, Richard L. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Chenoweth, J. Edgar (R)	O	C	L	C	C	Roush, J. Edward (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Rogers, Byron G. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Wilson, Earl (R)	L	C	L	C	C
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>						<u>IOWA</u>					
Daddario, Emilio Q. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Bromwell, James E. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Giaimo, Robert N. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Gross, H. R. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Grabowski, Bernard P. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Hoeven, Charles B. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Monagan, John S. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Jensen, Ben F. (R)	O	C	L	C	C
St. Onge, William (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Kyl, John H. (R)	C	C	L	O	C
Sibal, Abner W. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Schwengel, Fred (R)	C	C	L	C	C
<u>DELAWARE</u>						Smith, Neal (D)	L	L	L	L	L
McDowell, Harris B., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	<u>KANSAS</u>					
<u>FLORIDA</u>						Avery, William H. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Bennett, Charles E. (D)	L	L	C	L	C	Dole, Robert (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Cramer, William C. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Ellsworth, Robert F. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Fascell, Dante B. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Shriver, Garner E. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Fuqua, Don (D)	O	L	L	C	C	Skubitz, Joe (R)	C	C	L	C	C

	8	9	10	11	12		8	9	10	11	12
<u>KENTUCKY</u>						<u>MISSOURI (cont'd)</u>					
Chelf, Frank (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Jones, Paul C. (D)	L	L	O	O	C
Natcher, William H. (D)	L	L	L	C	L	Karsten, Frank M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Perkins, Carl D. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Randall, William J. (D)	O	L	O	L	L
Siler, Eugene (R)	L	C	O	C	L	Sullivan, Leonor K. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Snyder, M. G. (R)	C	C	O	C	C	<u>MONTANA</u>					
Stubblefield, Frank A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Battin, James F. (R)	C	C	O	O	C
Watts, John C. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Olsen, Arnold (D)	L	L	L	L	L
<u>LOUISIANA</u>						<u>NEBRASKA</u>					
Boggs, Hale (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Beermann, Ralph F. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Hebert, F. Edward (D)	L	L	L	C	C	Cunningham, Glenn (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Long, Gillis W. (D)	L	L	L	C	L	Martin, Dave (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Morrison, James H. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	<u>NEVADA</u>					
Passman, Otto E. (D)	L	C	O	C	C	Baring, Walter S. (D)	L	C	C	C	O
Thompson, T. Ashton (D)	L	O	L	C	L	<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>					
Waggonner, Joe D., Jr. (D)	O	C	O	C	C	Cleveland, James C. (R)	L	C	L	C	C
Willis, Edwin E. (D)	L	L	O	C	L	Wyman, Louis C. (R)	C	C	O	C	O
<u>MAINE</u>						<u>NEW JERSEY</u>					
McIntire, Clifford G. (R)	C	C	O	C	C	Auchincloss, James C. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Tupper, Stanley R. (R)	L	C	O	C	L	Cahill, William T. (R)	L	C	L	C	C
<u>MARYLAND</u>						Daniels, Dominick V. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Fallon, George H. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Dwyer, Florence P. (R)	L	C	O	C	C
Friedel, Samuel N. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr. (R)	L	C	L	C	C
Garmatz, Edward A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Gallagher, Cornelius E. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Lankford, Richard E. (D)	O	L	L	L	L	Glenn, Milton W. (R)	L	C	L	O	L
Long, Clarence D. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Joelson, Charles S. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr. (R)	L	C	O	C	C	Minish, Joseph G. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Morton, Rogers C. B. (R)	C	C	L	O	L	Osmers, Frank C., Jr. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Sickles, Carlton R. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Patten, Edward J., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>						Rodino, Peter W., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Bates, William H. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Thompson, Frank, Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Boland, Edward P. (D)	O	L	L	L	L	Wallhauser, George M. (R)	L	C	L	C	C
Burke, James A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Widnall, William B. (R)	L	C	O	C	C
Conte, Silvio O. (R)	C	C	L	L	C	<u>NEW MEXICO</u>					
Donohue, Harold D. (D)	O	L	O	L	L	Montoya, Joseph M. (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Keith, Hastings (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Morris, Thomas G. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Macdonald, Torbert H. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	<u>NEW YORK</u>					
McCormack, John W. (D)	O	O	O	O	O	Addabbo, Joseph P. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Martin, Joseph W., Jr. (R)	O	L	O	C	O	Barry, Robert R. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Morse, F. Bradford (R)	L	C	L	C	C	Becker, Frank J. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Buckley, Charles A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Philbin, Philip J. (D)	O	L	O	L	L	Carey, Hugh L. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
<u>MICHIGAN</u>						Celler, Emanuel (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Bennett, John B. (R)	L	C	L	C	L	Delaney, James J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Broomfield, William S. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Derounian, Stephen B. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Cederberg, Elford A. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Dulski, Thaddeus J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Chamberlain, Charles E. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Farbstein, Leonard (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Diggs, Charles C., Jr. (D)	L	O	O	L	L	Fino, Paul A. (R)	L	C	L	C	L
Dingell, John D. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Gilbert, Jacob H. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Ford, Gerald R., Jr. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Goodell, Charles E. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Griffin, Robert P. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Grover, James R., Jr. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Griffiths, Martha W. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Halpern, Seymour (R)	L	C	L	L	L
Harvey, James (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Healey, James C. (D)	O	L	L	L	L
Hutchinson, Edward (R)	C	C	O	C	C	Horton, Frank J. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Johansen, August E. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Kelly, Edna F. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Knox, Victor A. (R)	L	C	O	C	C	Keogh, Eugene J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Lesinski, John (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Kilburn, Clarence E. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Meador, George (R)	L	C	L	C	C	King, Carleton J. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Nedzi, Lucien N. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Lindsay, John V. (R)	L	C	L	L	C
O'Hara, James G. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Miller, William E. (R)	C	C	L	C	O
Ryan, Harold M. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Multer, Abraham J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Staebler, Neil (D)	O	L	L	L	L	Murphy, John M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
<u>MINNESOTA</u>						O'Brien, Leo W. (D)	O	L	L	L	L
Blatnik, John A. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Ostertag, Harold C. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Fraser, Donald M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Pike, Otis G. (D)	L	L	L	L	C
Karth, Joseph E. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Pillion, John R. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Langen, Odin (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Pirnie, Alexander (R)	C	C	L	C	C
MacGregor, Clark (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Powell, Adam C. (D)	O	L	O	L	L
Nelsen, Ancher (R)	C	C	O	C	C	Reid, Ogden R. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Olson, Alec G. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Riehlman, R. Walter (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Quie, Albert H. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Robison, Howard W. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
<u>MISSISSIPPI</u>						Rooney, John J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Abernethy, Thomas G. (D)	L	C	C	C	C	Rosenthal, Benjamin S. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Colmer, William M. (D)	L	C	C	C	C	Ryan, William Fitts (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Whitten, Jamie L. (D)	L	C	C	C	C	St. George, Katharine (R)	C	C	L	O	C
Williams, John Bell (D)	C	C	C	C	C	Stratton, Samuel S. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Winstead, Arthur (D)	C	C	O	C	C	Wharton, J. Ernest (R)	C	C	O	C	C
<u>MISSOURI</u>						Wydler, John W. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Bolling, Richard (D)	L	L	O	L	L	<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>					
Cannon, Clarence (D)	L	C	L	L	C	Bonner, Herbert C. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Curtis, Thomas B. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Broyhill, James T. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Hall, Durward G. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Cooley, Harold D. (D)	O	L	L	C	C
Hull, W. R., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	C	C	Fountain, L. H. (D)	L	L	C	C	C
Ichord, Richard (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Henderson, David N. (D)	L	L	O	C	L

	8	9	10	11	12		8	9	10	11	12
<u>NORTH CAROLINA (con't)</u>						<u>SOUTH CAROLINA (cont'd)</u>					
Jonas, Charles Raper (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Rivers, L. Mendel (D)	L	L	L	C	O
Kornegay, Horace R. (D)	L	L	C	C	C	Watson, Albert W. (D)	L	C	C	C	C
Lennon, Alton (D)	L	C	C	C	C	<u>SOUTH DAKOTA</u>					
Scott, Ralph J. (D)	O	O	O	O	O	Berry, E. Y. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Taylor, Roy A. (D)	O	C	C	C	L	Reifel, Ben (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Whitener, Basil L. (D)	L	C	C	C	C	<u>TENNESSEE</u>					
<u>NORTH DAKOTA</u>						Baker, Howard H. (R)	L	C	L	C	L
Nygaard, Hjalmar C. (R)	C	C	O	C	C	Bass, Ross (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Short, Don L. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Brock, William E., III (R)	C	C	L	C	C
<u>OHIO</u>						Davis, Clifford (D)	L	L	O	L	C
Abele, Homer E. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Everett, Robert A. (D)	L	L	O	C	L
Ashbrook, John M. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Evens, Joe L. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Ashley, Thomas L. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Fulton, Richard (D)	L	L	O	L	L
Ayres, William H. (R)	C	C	L	C	O	Murray, Tom (D)	L	L	C	C	C
Betts, Jackson E. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Quillen, James H. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Bolton, Frances P. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	<u>TEXAS</u>					
Bolton, Oliver P. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Alger, Bruce (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Bow, Frank T. (R)	L	C	O	C	C	Beckworth, Lindley (D)	L	C	L	C	L
Brown, Clarence J. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Brooks, Jack (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Clancy, Donald D. (R)	C	C	O	C	C	Burleson, Omar (D)	L	C	L	C	C
Devine, Samuel L. (R)	C	C	O	C	C	Casey, Robert R. (D)	L	C	L	O	C
Feighan, Michael A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Dowdy, John (D)	L	C	O	C	C
Harsha, William H., Jr. (R)	C	C	L	C	L	Fisher, O. Clark (D)	C	C	L	C	C
Hays, Wayne L. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Foreman, Ed (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Kirwan, Michael J. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Gonzalez, Henry B. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Latta, Delbert L. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Kilgore, Joe M. (D)	L	C	L	C	C
McCulloch, William M. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Mahon, George H. (D)	L	L	L	C	C
Minshall, William E. (R)	C	C	O	C	C	Patman, Wright (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Mosher, Charles A. (R)	C	C	L	C	O	Poage, William R. (D)	L	L	L	C	C
Rich, Carl W. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Pool, Joe (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Schenck, Paul F. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Purcell, Graham (D)	L	L	O	C	C
Secrest, Robert T. (D)	L	C	O	L	L	Roberts, Ray (D)	L	L	O	C	C
Taft, Robert, Jr. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Rogers, Walter (D)	L	L	L	C	C
Vanik, Charles A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Teague, Olin E. (D)	L	L	L	C	L
<u>OKLAHOMA</u>						Thomas, Albert (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Albert, Carl (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Thompson, Clark W. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Belcher, Page (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Thornberry, Homer (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Edmondson, Ed (D)	O	L	O	L	L	Wright, James C. (D)	L	L	L	C	L
Jarman, John (D)	L	L	L	C	C	Young, John (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Steed, Tom (D)	L	L	L	L	L	<u>UTAH</u>					
Wickersham, Victor (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Burton, Laurence J. (R)	L	C	O	C	C
<u>OREGON</u>						Lloyd, Sherman P. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Duncan, Robert B. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	<u>VERMONT</u>					
Green, Edith (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Stafford, Robert T. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Norblad, Walter (R)	C	C	L	C	C	<u>VIRGINIA</u>					
Ullman, Al (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Abbitt, Watkins M. (D)	C	C	C	C	C
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>						Broyhill, Joel T. (R)	C	C	C	C	C
Barrett, William A. (D)	O	L	L	L	L	Downing, Thomas N. (D)	L	L	L	C	C
Byrne, James A. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Gary, J. Vaughan (D)	L	L	L	L	C
Clark, Frank M. (D)	O	L	L	L	L	Hardy, Porter, Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	C
Corbett, Robert J. (R)	L	C	L	C	L	Jennings, W. Pat (D)	L	L	L	L	C
Curtin, Willard S. (R)	O	C	C	C	C	Marsh, John O., Jr. (D)	L	C	L	C	C
Dague, Paul B. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Poff, Richard H. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Dent, John H. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Smith, Howard W. (D)	L	C	L	C	C
Flood, Daniel J. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Tuck, William M. (D)	C	C	C	C	C
Fulton, James G. (R)	O	C	L	C	L	<u>WASHINGTON</u>					
Gavin, Leon H. (R)	L	C	L	C	C	Hansen, Julia B. (D)	O	L	L	L	L
Goodling, George A. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Horan, Walt (R)	L	C	O	C	C
Green, William J., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	May, Catherine (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Holland, Elmer J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Pelly, Thomas M. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Kunkel, John C. (R)	L	C	L	C	C	Stinson, K. William (R)	C	C	L	C	C
McDade, Joseph M. (R)	L	C	L	C	L	Tollefson, Thor C. (R)	C	C	L	O	C
Milliken, William H., Jr. (R)	C	C	L	C	C	Westland, Jack (R)	C	C	L	O	C
Moorehead, William S. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	<u>WEST VIRGINIA</u>					
Morgan, Thomas E. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Hechler, Ken (D)	L	L	C	L	L
Nix, Robert N. C. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Kee, Elizabeth (D)	O	L	O	L	L
Rhodes, George M. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Moore, Arch A., Jr. (R)	L	C	L	C	C
Saylor, John P. (R)	L	C	L	C	L	Slack, John M., Jr. (D)	L	L	L	C	L
Schneebeli, Herman T. (R)	C	C	C	C	C	Staggers, Harley O. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
Schweiker, Richard S. (R)	L	C	C	C	C	<u>WISCONSIN</u>					
Toll, Herman (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Byrnes, John W. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Weaver, James D. (R)	L	C	O	C	C	Johnson, Lester R. (D)	L	L	C	L	L
Whalley, J. Irving (R)	L	C	L	C	L	Kastenmeier, Robert W. (D)	L	L	C	L	L
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u>						Laird, Melvin R. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Fogarty, John E. (D)	L	O	L	L	L	O'Konski, Alvin E. (R)	L	O	O	O	L
St. Germain, Fernand J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L	Reuss, Henry S. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>						Schadeberg, Henry C. (R)	C	C	L	C	C
Ashmore, Robert T. (D)	L	C	O	C	C	Thomson, Vernon W. (R)	C	C	C	O	C
Dorn, W. J. Bryan (D)	C	C	O	C	C	Van Pelt, William K. (R)	C	C	O	C	C
Hemphill, Robert W. (D)	L	L	O	L	L	Zablocki, Clement J. (D)	L	L	L	L	L
McMillan, John L. (D)	O	L	O	C	C	<u>WYOMING</u>					
						Harrison, William Henry (R)	C	C	L	C	C